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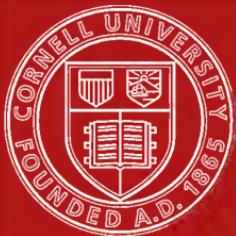
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Henry C. Lee.

HENRY CHARLES LEA

HENRY CHARLES LEA

PROCEEDINGS OF THE JOINT MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF
PHILADELPHIA

HELD JANUARY 20, 1911

PRESENTATION OF PORTRAITS
OF
HENRY CHARLES LEA
AND
ISAAC LEA

ABSTRACT OF THE MEETING
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
HELD MARCH 13, 1911

PRESENTATION OF PORTRAIT
OF
HENRY CHARLES LEA

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HENRY CHARLES LEA.

(*Read January 20, 1911.*)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

By WILLIAM W. KEEN, M.D., LL.D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Members of the American Philosophical Society, Members and Representatives of the Library Company of Philadelphia, of the University of Pennsylvania, of the Academy of Natural Sciences, and of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

In the days of Julius Caesar and during the wars which followed his assassination, "Triumvirate" was a word very familiar to Roman citizens. But whether applied to the first or the second triumvirate it had a sinister meaning. Our own city, however, for many years has had an illustrious triumvirate of men who have been eminent in literature, science and civic life, Horace Howard Furness, S. Weir Mitchell and Henry Charles Lea. No other American city could boast three names comparable to these.

When one of these three, and such a man as Henry Charles Lea has passed away, it is fitting that his associates and the community at large should halt for an hour in our busy life and pay a tribute to his character and achievements.

The American Philosophical Society, of which he was an honored member, therefore suggested to the four other public institutions named with which Mr. Lea was associated by membership, and which had benefited by his active interest and generous support, that a joint meeting in memory of Mr. Lea should be held. The idea was most cordially received and a speaker representing each of these societies will share in the proceedings of the evening.

In addition to these distinguished local representatives, His Excellency, the Right Hon. James Bryce, the British Ambassador, has come from Washington especially to do honor to the memory of his fellow historian and friend.

Through the generosity of Mr. Lea's family, two portraits, one of Mr. Henry C. Lea, and the other of his father, Mr. Isaac Lea, will be presented to the American Philosophical Society.

As an illustration of the thoroughness with which Mr. Lea prepared for his work, I may cite the following little incident:

While spending the winter of 1907-8 in Rome I saw in an antiquarian bookstore a catalogue of books on Witchcraft, a subject in which I knew Mr. Lea was deeply interested and of which, though he was then eighty-three years old, he contemplated writing a full account. I sent the catalogue to him—a list of seventy or eighty titles—some of them very rare, and offered to aid him in securing any which he might wish to purchase. In reply I received a letter of thanks, but he declined my proffered assistance for the very good reason that he "already had all of them in his library."

I have now the pleasure of introducing Edward P. Cheyney, Professor of European history in the University of Pennsylvania, and a co-worker with Mr. Lea, who will read a memoir on the Life and Works of Mr. Lea.

ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF HENRY CHARLES LEA.

By EDWARD POTTS CHEYNEY.

It has been so short a time since Mr. Lea was moving among us—to so many of those who are here he is still almost a living presence—that it is well-nigh impossible to view his long life and to estimate his great work as a thing detached from us, completed, a part of the past. Especially may one who through his whole mature life has looked upon Mr. Lea with admiration as a scholar, with gratitude as a kindly adviser, critic and friend, and with constantly increasing appreciation as one of the world's great men, acknowledge the inadequacy of this sketch of his life and list of his achievements. Indeed in this city, in which Mr. Lea's whole life was passed, and in this company to whom his personality and much of his work were familiar, I shall frequently rather be bringing his career to remembrance than giving information concerning it.

Henry Charles Lea was born in Eighth Street above Spruce, Philadelphia, in the year 1825. His boyhood has left a few suggestive reminiscences. He remembered learning the letters of the Greek alphabet as a child of six at the bedside of a mother well-educated and strong in mind, however frail in body—the daughter of Mathew Carey, the sister of Henry C. Carey. The intellectual atmosphere into which he was born and in which he grew up is indicated also by the studies in natural history of his father, Isaac Lea, and by his own training under a private tutor. From this tutor, whose name was Eugenius Nulty, a scholar of an old and rigorous type, and a man of much individuality and force, he received an unusually thorough and effective drill in the ancient languages and other fundamentals. A short stay in 1832 at a school in Paris, where he was the only boy not a native of France, probably had something to do with his easy use of French, both as a spoken and a written language, during his later life. He remembered the French boys bringing to school bullets found in the streets after the Parisian rising that led

to the dethronement of Charles X. It was a long memory that covered the history of France from the Bourbons to the thirty-eighth anniversary of the Third Republic.

A more characteristic reminiscence was that of his desire, as a boy of twelve or fourteen, for a copy of Anacreon in the Greek, which was unobtainable because of the necessity, in the shadow of the crisis of 1837, of so rigid an economy as to forbid the expenditure of fifteen cents for the cheapest copy procurable. In a series of visits to the Philadelphia Library he copied the whole of Anacreon, and thus possessed himself of the first of his collection of manuscripts—none the less accurate probably because it was made in the nineteenth and not in the ninth century. The publication in *Silliman's Journal* when he was a boy of thirteen of a paper on “Manganese and its Salts,” the result of a period of study in a chemical laboratory, may serve as a reminder that his earliest training was as much in scientific as in classical lines; and also that his mind was of that type that must produce as well as acquire.

By 1843 boyhood was over. At the age of eighteen, a new period opened with his entrance into his father's publishing house, and thus commenced a business career which was to last for thirty-seven years, till his retirement in 1880. As a youth, during the next four years, he worked hard at business in the daytime and equally hard at his studies late at night and early in the morning. Few persons, I think, can look over the files of the magazines of the years from 1843 to 1846 and realize without astonishment that the sixteen or more long articles signed by Henry C. Lea were the work of a young business man of eighteen to twenty-one, regularly occupied during the long working hours of that period. He was fulfilling two apprenticeships at the same time, one to the publishing business, the other to literature.

It is curious to see the conflict of interests in the latter of these fields between science and the humanities. In May, 1843, he published in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* a paper on “Some New Shells from Petersburg, Va.,” and in August of the same year in *The Knickerbocker* of New York an article on “Greek Epitaphs and Inscriptions.” In September, 1844, in a southern journal is to be found a critical article by him on Leigh

Hunt; two months later in a journal of natural history, a description of "Certain New Species of Marine Shells." But the literary gradually predominated over the scientific. In the *Southern Literary Messenger* of Richmond, Va., in the year 1845 and early in 1846, he published a series of six articles under the general heading "Remarks on Various Late Poets." These are critical studies and appreciations of Miss Barrett, long before she became Mrs. Browning; of Miss Landon, while she was still disguised under the initials L. E. L.; of Tennyson, then publishing his earlier poems; of Eliza Cook, and several others. Interspersed with these in the same and other journals, are reviews and articles with many quotations and translations on "The Greek Symposium and its Materials," "Anacreon," "The Imagination and Fancy of Leigh Hunt," the Latin poet "Festus," and "Ménage," the poet of the French renaissance.

To such activity there is usually but one end, and to Mr. Lea it came in the year 1847, when a very serious breakdown in his health put an end for a while to all efforts except those for its restoration. Recuperation, travel, marriage, hard and well-remunerated mercantile work, rather than study and writing, filled in the remaining years of early manhood.

With improving health and increasing strength began what may be considered a third period, marked by many activities, including a resumption of written work, which had now been laid aside for more than ten years. In the *North American Review* of January, 1859, appeared what was ostensibly a review by Mr. Lea of a volume published by a German historian some years before. But the article was really not so much a review as a scholarly study of two forms of mediæval trial, compurgation and the wager of battle. An article on judicial ordeals appeared six months later, also in the form of a book review. These studies, revised and enlarged and with an additional chapter on torture as a form of trial, were gathered into a volume and issued in 1866 under the title "Superstition and Force." This was Mr. Lea's first book. Others followed on similar subjects. In 1867 appeared "The History of Sacerdotal Celibacy," and in 1869 "Studies in Church History." These works it will be observed are in a totally different field from that of his early literary and scientific writing. His entrance upon it

seems to have been by the following route. In the desultory reading of his long period of ill health, he had taken up the French memoir writers and chroniclers. Following the bent of a naturally logical mind he had traced these writers backward in time from Commines to Monstrelet, from Froissart to the *Chroniques de St. Denis* and *Villehardouin*, till, in the Middle Ages, he had found himself in a new world, faced and surrounded by the conceptions of mediæval law and the mediæval church. Once having become interested in this body of institutions he was more and more impressed with its significance; he perceived the influence of mediæval jurisprudence and the mediæval church on modern times; and to this phase of the history of civilization he devoted the studies of the remainder of his life.

But Mr. Lea's studies were still only one of his interests. He was deeply moved by the questions raised by the Civil War and took an active part in the work of their solution. His labors in the national cause as well as those in the cause of municipal and civil service reform I must leave to more competent hands for description. I may, however, refer to his characteristic recourse to his pen to reach his objects. During the height of the dispute concerning slavery, when Bishop Hopkins's pamphlet, the "Bible View of Slavery," was issued and widely circulated as a defence of that institution on Biblical grounds, Mr. Lea wrote a parody, the "Bible View of Polygamy," showing that just as good a case might be made out from the Bible for the one institution as the other. Later, as a warning in our treatment of the American Indians, he wrote an article on the "Indian Policy of Spain," and on the outbreak of the Spanish war he published an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* of July, 1908, suggesting the deep-lying causes of the decadence of Spain. When we took up new responsibilities in the Philippines, he published a pamphlet called "The Dead Hand," utilizing the experience of Catholic governments to show the evils of the possession of land by ecclesiastical bodies. These are only a few examples of much more than a score of pamphlets, articles and open letters called forth by public crises in which Mr. Lea took a keen interest and to the solution of which he always felt that history had something to contribute.

His services in connection with the adoption of the first International Copyright Act had the special value that he was both an author and a publisher, and could look on the subject from two points of view. The first of his two long periods of service on the Board of Directors of the Philadelphia Library began early in this period, closing in 1879.

Before passing on to the characteristics of a later period it must be noted that it was during this part of his life that Mr. Lea laid the foundation of his library. So far as I am aware Mr. Lea stands alone among historical scholars in having done his work entirely in his own library, without recourse to any university or public collection; and this library was entirely his own creation. He had no nucleus for it, no aid in constructing it. No one who has ever entered upon the serious study of a new field will fail to estimate at something like its true value the difficulty of finding what materials for its study exist, and of obtaining access to them. In Mr. Lea's subject these difficulties existed in the highest degree. Few bibliographical guides then existed, no older or even contemporary scholar was at hand to give advice; his ideals of thoroughness were so uncompromising, and his desire for knowledge of the actualities of the past was so keen, that the merely obvious sources of information were quite inadequate to his desires. Much that he did was pioneer work, in which equipment must be constantly adjusted to newly discovered needs. Fortunately he had means which enabled him to purchase books freely wherever they might be found, and when the materials needed proved to exist only in a manuscript form, to have special copies of those made for his use. But the purchase price bears no very close relation to the value of a library collected with care, insight, discrimination, years of labor and watchfulness, and above all a constant realization of its character as an instrument adapted to a certain specific end. I may perhaps be pardoned if I say that Mr. Lea's bequest of his library to the University of Pennsylvania instead of either burying it in a great public collection, or allowing it to remain a purely private possession, or scattering it to the four winds, seems to me to place in additional clearness his conception of it as a working collection for purposes of

research, to serve others in the future for the use to which he himself put it.

In 1865 Mr. Lea anticipated withdrawing from active business life, but the sudden death of his partner seemed to necessitate his remaining in control, and he continued a publisher for fifteen years more, until 1880, when he retired. This change was coincident with or shortly followed by a second breakdown, which made him almost an invalid for four years from 1880 to 1884. During this time his restlessly active mind could not refrain entirely from production, and he returned, for the moment at least, to the more purely literary interests of his earlier life. He had always been fond of making translations from various languages into English, and in his historical as well as his literary articles he had frequently given reproductions of old poems. He had also written verse from time to time, and occasionally exchanged such productions with at least one other well-known business man in Philadelphia. The war especially had led him to write several poems. Some forty of these, mostly translations from French, German, Italian, Spanish, Latin and Greek, he gathered together and published privately in 1882 under the title "Translations and other Rhymes." Whether from Mr. Lea's temperament, mood or physical condition, these poems look rather to the darker sides of life, its experiences and mysteries; as in his own verses closing

The riddle who can read?
Who guess the reason why?
We know but this indeed,
We are born, we grieve, we die.

With Mr. Lea's return to his usual health in 1884 began a long period, twenty-five years, of vigorous, laborious and yet serene life; old age it could hardly be called, although it carried him from his sixtieth year through his eighty-fourth. The many-sided interests of this period of life and activity, I can scarcely do more than name. A large fortune, watched over assiduously, and with very definite theories as to its investment and use; scarcely less well-marked abstention from certain forms of investment; an unwillingness to serve on responsible boards without performing the labor required by responsibility; discriminating and carefully considered philan-

thropic and charitable gifts—such were some of his most material interests. He gave quietly, and only after the object had fully commended itself to him. Such giving can hardly be described in detail and must be left in the main to the privacy of purely personal life. A few of the more notable of these benefactions, however, may be mentioned. In 1888 Mr. Lea erected an addition to the Philadelphia Library building, doubling the size of its reading rooms and book-stacks. In 1897 he erected important buildings for the Pennsylvania Epileptic Hospital and Colony Farm at Oakbourne, Pa., and subsequently paid for the erection of still other buildings, added to the endowment of the institution and contributed toward its maintenance. In 1889 he offered to pay for the construction of a building for the study and teaching of hygiene and bacteriology at the University. This building was erected in 1891 and dedicated February, 1892. His library, as is well known, he bequeathed to the University. In addition to these and other substantial gifts to the University Mr. Lea was one of that body of generous subscribers to its general expenses who have enabled it, without the large endowments of the other great Eastern universities, and without the munificent state appropriations of those in the West, to perform a work fully commensurate with theirs. For a number of years he subscribed liberally to this purpose and lightened the burden of the Provost by the kindness and readiness with which he gave.

Immersed in his literary work and devoting many hours a day to it, yet the courteous host of the Wistar parties, the cordial giver of time and advice to any who were preparing to entertain learned bodies in Philadelphia, the participant in all scholarly projects in the field of history, the ready writer of communications to the public journals on all large questions that arose, the persistent walker through Philadelphia streets, he was certainly not a recluse. His face and form were familiar to a large circle of acquaintances and he welcomed callers cordially. Among his more intimate characteristics during his later life may be mentioned his habit of spending some days or weeks each year at the Delaware Water Gap, in the spring when the fruit trees blossomed, and in the fall when the autumn leaves were in their glory. He was always interested in wild flowers, knew them and their haunts in the country and at the

shore, where he spent the summer, and he even botanized among the flower stands of the old colored women along Market Street. He was fond of curios and semi-precious stones, attended Philadelphia sales and corresponded with dealers in such objects, and made an extensive collection of Japanese pottery and bronzes. He collected also engravings and books on art.

But it was primarily to the work of the historian that the labors of Mr. Lea were devoted during this long period of his later life; and it was as a scholarly historian that he won eminence and received recognition in full measure. Doctoral degrees from Giessen, Pennsylvania, Harvard and Princeton; fellowships or honorary or associate membership in more than thirty learned societies in Germany, Italy, Russia, England, Scotland and America; medals, congratulatory letters and private correspondence testify to this. He was long a Vice-president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He was urged to serve as President of the American Historical Association soon after its organization, and finally consented in 1903. He could not preside, as its meeting was held that year in New Orleans, and he did not feel that he could make so long a journey from home, but his presidential address on "Ethical Values in History" made a profound impression at the time and was reprinted afterward.

These honors and this recognition were partly for his earlier work on the history of mediæval law, already described, but in the main an acknowledgment of the series of great works which during this period appeared in almost unbroken continuity. In 1888 appeared the "History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages," in three volumes; two years afterward a volume of "Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected with the Inquisition"; two years after this he edited a "Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary"; in 1896 he published his "History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences," in three volumes. Then came a period of ten years in which only one volume, the "Moriscos of Spain," and some pamphlets and magazine articles were published. This long passage of time was due to the fact that he was preparing his largest and most important work, a "History of the Inquisition of Spain," published in four volumes in 1906 and 1907. In 1908 he published a "History of the Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies," and was at work last year

collecting material and making notes for a "History of Witchcraft," when he finally laid down his pen.

The late period of life to which this productivity extended is of much significance. Few historians have died under sixty; much historical writing has been done by men in their seventies; Ranke and Bancroft at ninety, Mommsen at eighty-six, and Mr. Lea at eighty-four are only some of the most conspicuous instances of a considerable number of scholars who with unclouded clearness of mind and unabated vigor of spirit were drawing on their long-accumulated store of knowledge and applying their slowly ripened judgment to the problems of history at more than eighty years of age.

The early part of Mr. Lea's life was contemporaneous with the beginnings of American historical production. The historical works of Irving, "Columbus" and the "Conquest of Granada," were published during Mr. Lea's earliest years. In 1834 appeared the first volume of Bancroft's "History of the United States." In 1837 Prescott began his historical career by the publication of "Ferdinand and Isabella." Parkman's first work, the "Conspiracy of Pontiac," was published in 1851, and the first volume of Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic" in 1856, when Mr. Lea was collecting material for his "Superstition and Force."

A marked difference, however, is to be noted between the historical work of these writers and that of Mr. Lea. Each of the five chose as a subject a period of time or a series of events or a group of personalities which possessed some well-defined dramatic character. The almost personal struggle, gigantic in significance, however limited in time and space, fought out in the Netherlands between William of Orange and Philip of Spain, awakened the sympathetic fire and was described by the literary grace of Motley. The romantic adventures of Cortez and Pizarro, and the scarcely less stirring narrative of events in Spain during the same period gave a subject of unexcelled interest to Prescott. Parkman from boyhood was attracted, as he tells us, by the picturesque surroundings and incidents of the struggle for the Northern continent between the Indian, the Frenchman and the Englishman. Bancroft selected the early and heroic period of our own national life, and Irving

equally dramatic episodes. In contrast with these Mr. Lea chose a much earlier period of the world's history and a group of subjects during that period of which the elements are less emotional, more intellectual; in which the problem is rather to understand than to depict, rather to explain than to narrate. Whereas their periods were modern, he chose the middle ages; whereas they recounted principally events, he wrote principally on institutions. The mediæval conceptions of law; the organization, ideals, doctrines and practices of the mediæval church; the origin, development, connections and influence of the Inquisition, one of the most characteristic embodiments of the spirit of the mediæval church—such were the great problems he took up for solution. They were narratives, of course, that he wrote, as all history must be narration, but they were narratives not so much of incidents in the life of certain individual men as of incidents in the life of mankind. He was dealing not so much with occurrences—these served as illustrations only—as with the development of principles. In this more difficult and more philosophical conception of history Mr. Lea was a pioneer in America, and his choice was apparently made independently even of such European scholars as had preceded him in it.

Why he made this choice has long been a matter of interest to historical scholars. He himself could probably have told how rather than why he took this attitude toward history. The wind of human interest "bloweth where it listeth" and we seldom know just why we have become so deeply interested in some one particular field of knowledge or endeavor. But it is to be remembered that Mr. Lea's early surroundings and interests were largely in the field of natural science. The analogy between the history of institutions and the study of natural history is very close. There is the same subordination of the individual to the type, the same interest in logical classification, the same greater attention to observation than to exposition. It would seem entirely natural therefore that Mr. Lea, having become interested in the Middle Ages, would wish to understand and elucidate the rules and ideas of mediæval law and organized mediæval religion, rather than merely to narrate the story of external events during that period.

The same early interest in natural history, acting on a certain

type of mind and strengthened by a business training, may be the clue to Mr. Lea's adoption of so distinctly scientific a method in his historical work. Scientific method is much the same to whatever department of knowledge it is applied. It is simply the direct method, going as immediately as possible to the phenomena which it is intended to observe; the objective method, treating the phenomena without subjective distortion or personal bias; the comparative method, treating individual examples and occurrences as material for classification and generalization; the rigorous method, using only facts that can be absolutely verified, or when this is impossible discriminating clearly the different degrees of certitude of facts. Allowing for certain difficulties in obtaining and interpreting the material with which the historian has to deal, no biologist, chemist or astronomer has been more true to these canons of scientific method than has Mr. Lea in his historical works.

There is one corollary of this attitude toward history, however, that Mr. Lea was not willing to accept. To most scientific historians it seems no more within their province to express ethical judgments on the men and institutions of the past, or to draw practical lessons for the present from them than it is part of the duty of any other scientific investigators. They deem their work done if they observe, explain, narrate. According to their view it is no more the duty of the historian to draw moral lessons than it is that of the geologist or of the botanist. Mr. Lea did not feel so. In the preface to his "History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages," written in 1887, he said: "No serious historical work is worth the writing or the reading unless it conveys a moral. . . . I have not paused to moralize, but I have missed my aim if the events narrated are not so presented as to teach their appropriate lesson." His practice already alluded to of bringing his stores of historical knowledge to bear on present day questions in the form of occasional pamphlets or essays indicates the same belief, namely, that it is one of the duties of the historical student to provide moral or practical teaching for the community. Yet I am inclined to believe that the conception of the historian as also a moralist became less pronounced in Mr. Lea's mind as his life went on. In his "History of the Inquisition of Spain" his judgments of the church are less severe than in his

earlier work on the "History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages." His presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1903 was devoted to a vindication of Philip II. of Spain from many of the charges against him, on the ground that men and institutions must be judged by the moral standards of their own time, not ours. He speaks of Motley's condemnation in a certain case as "the language of a partisan and not of an historian," and declares that Lord Acton's famous appeal, "to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong," to be based on a mistaken view of the function of history. He points out that "history is not to be written as a Sunday-school tale for children of larger growth." He was more willing, I think, in later than earlier life to tell the story and leave his readers to draw what moral from it they wished. In his own words, "the historian may often feel righteous indignation—or what he conceives to be righteous—but he should strenuously repress it as a luxury to be left to his readers." Yet he did not entirely reject his earlier view, for in December, 1907, only two years before his death he wrote: "I have always sought, even though infinitesimally, to contribute to the betterment of the world, by indicating the consequences of evil and of inconsiderate and misdirected zeal. The search for truth has been stimulated by the desire to diminish the consequences of error."

Yet sincerely as Mr. Lea tried to be impartial in his treatment of the men and institutions of the past, he has been subjected to serious criticism, principally from adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. He has been charged with interpreting mediaeval documents unfairly, giving undue credit to doubtful documents because they supported his views, and of allowing his general opposition to Catholicism to draw him into a partisan presentation of his subject. The changes have been rung on these charges in many different keys, but they are all reducible to these three forms, unfair interpretation of the records, prejudiced acceptance of documents, and an anti-Catholic propaganda under the guise of history. Much of this criticism has been made by men of no standing in scholarship and may be safely disregarded as unimportant. On the other hand, such criticism as that of Dr. Blötzer, published in 1890 in the *Historisches*

Jahrbuch of the *Görresgesellschaft*, that of Dr. Baumgarten in his book "Henry Charles Lea's Historical Writings," published in 1900, and the obituary essay of Alphandéry in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* since Mr. Lea's death, must be given the respect due to serious scholarly opinion. The validity of these criticisms can of course only be tested by scholars in the same field. But one or two general observations may be made concerning them. In so far as the statements refer to the validity or meaning of documents, that is a scholar's question, the kind of question that arises in all fields of investigation, that always must arise, and in which Mr. Lea would have been the first to disclaim for himself infallibility. One of the difficulties of such criticism, however, is shown in a curious slip made by one of Mr. Lea's most learned critics, Professor Baumgarten, of Munich. He endeavors to show at some length that Mr. Lea is mistaken in what he says of the mediæval rules for keeping holy the Sabbath day. But Mr. Lea was speaking not of keeping the Sabbath, the first day of the week, but of the forbidden meeting of witches with the devil, which was known as the "witch Sabbath," and he was absolutely correct in what he said. Professor Baumgarten is learned, but he does not happen to be learned in the history of witchcraft, where this expression belongs. As a further indication of the purely academic character of much of this criticism it may be remarked that a Catholic reviewer of Baumgarten's attack upon Mr. Lea while agreeing with him in this part of his work, proceeds to criticise Baumgarten's own work so severely as quite to take the edge off his harsh judgment of the American scholar.

But such criticisms, whether correct or mistaken, belong in the realm of knowledge, not of motive. In answer to charges of bias, intentional partisanship or unfairness, one can only cite Mr. Lea's own ideals and practices and the weight of opinion of thoughtful readers of his works. In this regard it is to be noted that many Catholic scholars are included among his unquestioning admirers, and all acknowledge the weight of his scholarship. The very latest criticism of an adverse nature closes by speaking of him as *ce bon ouvrier de vérité*, "this good laborer for the truth." Mr. Lea himself would have wished for no better description.

But there is stronger testimony from the Catholic side. On

December 19, 1896, Lord Acton, an English Catholic scholar, who had already expressed in the reviews a high opinion of Mr. Lea's work, wrote to him describing the project of the "Cambridge Modern History," which has now become so well known, and asking him to write a chapter in the first volume to be called "The Eve of the Reformation." In his letter Lord Acton uses the following expressions: "This is the important and most critical and cardinal chapter, which I am anxious to be allowed to place in your hands. . . . It is clear that you are the one indicated and predestined writer, there is no one else. . . . I know of none ^{to} whom I could go to if you refuse." Mr. Lea replied in letters dated January 7 and March 22, 1897, giving a somewhat reluctant consent, and pointing out that such an article must contain many of the same statements that he had already made in his published works. In reply Lord Acton wrote, April 4, saying: "I sincerely thank you for the honor you do me in giving the aid of your hand and the sanction of your name to our international undertaking. . . . Your last work contains almost all I am asking for, ten times told and full measure running over." After some other intervening letters, the correspondence was resumed in March and April, 1898, when Mr. Lea sent the manuscript of the chapter, which was acknowledged by Lord Acton with renewed thanks, and eventually printed exactly as written. Eight years later, after Lord Acton's death, during a controversy that arose concerning his Catholic orthodoxy, a correspondent in the *Tablet*, a London Catholic journal, denied that Lord Acton had asked Mr. Lea to write this famous chapter. In answer to this Mr. Lea prepared a communication to the same paper giving an outline of the correspondence which I have just described. Before sending this letter, however, he saw an article in the *London Times* of October 30, 1906, by the present Lord Acton, upholding his father's orthodoxy. In a spirit of kindness, and fearing to make this filial task more difficult, Mr. Lea decided not to send the correction he had prepared, laid it away among his papers, and the facts are now made public for the first time.

Even his severest Catholic critics have restricted their condemnation to a few parts of his work. There is not one of them that fails to bow to the extent, the depth and the minuteness of his knowl-

edge. One speaks of his "welcome collection and exposition of important and universally interesting material for church history, grandiose capacity for labor, the use of inclusive and often obscure sources and works of literature," another of the "long and clear paths he has drawn through the masses of fact he has collected."

The truth is Mr. Lea was a man who keenly resented injustice, was shocked by unnecessary suffering and deplored waste. In ecclesiastical history he found much that seemed to him worthy of condemnation, and he condemned it often in unsparing terms, blaming freely men whose actions he thought wicked, and institutions which he thought conducive to the perpetuation of injustice and the infliction of undeserved suffering. Those, on the other hand, who look on the dominant influences of the middle ages with especial sympathy, or feel called upon to defend the Catholic church from criticism, have deeply resented this condemnation. They feel that Mr. Lea has not given the other and pleasanter side of the story, that he has not pointed out the amelioration of society, the consolation to individuals, the gentler and kindlier services of the mediæval church. Yet in all fairness it is to be remembered that Mr. Lea's studies led him through dark stretches of human history, that the weight of "man's inhumanity to man" must often have pressed heavily upon his spirit, that sympathy with suffering, resentment against injustice, hatred of oppression, and grief over ignorance and prejudice must often have made their appeal rather to the warm emotions of the man than to the cold impartiality of the historian. Which of us could read the sad records of the Inquisition, analyze the motives of men who were a disgrace to the high office of the papacy, describe the work of the visible church through periods from which even the most devout of churchmen turn away sick at heart, and still possess always a judicial calm and a sympathetic spirit? And yet through all his studies Mr. Lea preserved moderate judgment, optimism and belief in the essential goodness of human nature.

Yet it is not the moral judgments expressed in Mr. Lea's writings that have most impressed scholars. It is the mass, solidity and originality of his knowledge, the minuteness of his research, and the extent of his production. The larger works that I have before enumerated amount to seventeen volumes. Several of them have

been reissued in successive editions, in each case with revision, eliminations and additions. Many of his pamphlets, articles in journals and other minor works, have involved much original investigation of the same kind as that made for his larger works. The extent of this investigation is indicated by thousands of references to works of the most technical and recondite character, in at least seven languages; to manuscripts belonging to remote periods, published in obscure localities, often by almost unknown authors, and difficult of access. In addition to these printed references are numberless pencilled notes, comments and other evidences of use scattered through the books in his library.

In order to carry out his work as he had planned it, especially his later volumes, it was necessary to make use of records in European depositaries which were still unprinted. The University of Oxford by special resolution ordered that any manuscripts in the Bodleian library needed by Mr. Lea in his work should be sent to America for his use; but in the case of archives this was obviously impossible. He was disinclined to go to Europe, and his means enabled him to make use of another alternative. This was to have copies of these manuscripts made by copyists there and sent over to him. Of course much was thus obtained of which he could make no use, but much was invaluable, and had never before been used by any scholar. Some two hundred bundles of manuscripts are now on his library shelves, all of which have been annotated throughout with his fine handwriting, and marked as having been copied, excerpted from, and otherwise utilized or discarded. Only two years before his death he arranged with M. Salomon Reinach to have a mass of material for his "History of Witchcraft" copied at the Cabinet de MSS. in Paris, and this he was engaged in examining, as it reached him, during the last weeks of his life.

The great volume of Mr. Lea's accomplishment, combined with his practice of having unprinted material copied and sent to him from Europe, has given rise to a strange misconception of his habits of work. One of his critics suggested that Mr. Lea, being a man of wealth, might have secured the services of others; another that his numerous references to obscure sources pointed to his possession of a large body of detailed quotations which could be used by him

in constructing his books. A third critic copied and developed these suggestions, till, according to the well-known process of the growth of a legend, it has been stated in a French journal that much of Mr. Lea's work was done for him by assistants, that he kept a card catalogue of quotations and references, and that his work was largely a mosaic made by putting together these materials gathered by others. Nothing could be more absurdly untrue. No scholar ever worked more absolutely independently than he, few ever worked more completely alone. He never employed a secretary or clerk, never dictated a letter. Just as his library was collected according to his own judgment, just as the material for his writing was collected by himself, so his books were written from his own brain and by his own hand in the most literal sense of the word. He never spared himself labor in his writing. When his "History of the Inquisition of Spain" was ready for the press it bade fair to occupy six large volumes. After serious thought Mr. Lea decided that this was too long, and notwithstanding his eighty years of age and a pressing realization of the possibility that death might overtake him with the work of half a lifetime incomplete, he quietly set himself to the task of rewriting the six thousand pages with his own pen in shorter form, and within a year completed his task, reducing it from the six volumes to four. Surely this was a high instance of courage and the simple dignity of the scholar. No haste to appear before the public, no pretense, no boasting, no complaint; simply a sincere and loyal recognition of the claims of scholarship, and a willingness to grapple with all the difficulties of his subject, whatever form they might take.

Those who are familiar with Mr. Lea's methods of work know how he accomplished so much. Day after day, month after month, year after year, he labored constantly, usually six or more hours a day, with intense and concentrated yet alert and interested application. He often expressed his joy in the combat with a student's difficulties, his pleasure in labor, his satisfaction in achievement. Although his health was by no means constantly good, yet for sixty-five years he did not spend the whole of any one day in bed. During many years of his later life he sat down regularly to his desk at two or three o'clock in the afternoon and worked until dinner time.

Then in the evening he began again and worked until eleven. And this occurred seven days in the week.

He began a new subject by copying, translating, tabulating and summarizing his sources, in his own clear handwriting, on sheets of paper, with such comments and cross references as occurred to him in the course of his work. Great stacks of such sheets he took away with him to the seashore in summer, and classified, combined and re-read them there. He made it a practice never to begin to write a book until he had all the material he intended to use in it collected and classified. Thus in some cases he spent literally years in gathering material before he had written a word of his book in its final form; and when he came to write he wrote almost entirely from this highly organized material. Similarly he never sent any part of his work to the printer until the whole book was completed and revised in manuscript form. If this patient, systematic, self-controlled method of work is compared with the restless, hurried, confused and broken way in which most of our production is carried on, it is not hard to solve the riddle of his great accomplishment.

He obtained singularly little help from others. In his early years he had, as has been seen, a first rate general education and good literary training. But when he once entered upon the difficult road of historical investigation, he traveled alone. He overcame its difficulties with native genius but with much tribulation. His search for the bibliography of his subject was a hard one. He learned new languages as he felt the necessity for them. He has himself left a record of his regret "that there were no scholars here to whom he could look for guidance in the paths which he desired to follow," and that "as a solitary student he was obliged to collect around him the necessary material." This detachment from other scholars working in the same line had distinct disadvantages. The editions of the sources which he used were in many cases not the best, or those that gave the most help, and he did not obtain assistance that lay at hand in journals devoted to the investigation of mediæval history and in modern works in allied subjects. On the other hand, this same independence in his work gave a distinction and an individuality to his thought and writing that added immensely to its effectiveness. He saved much time from controversy, and he studied

and wrote with a directness that would have been impossible if he had paid more attention to current writings and discussions in his field. He seldom asked or obtained either information or ideas from other scholars. But this arose from no sense of separation, depreciation or jealousy. It was simply the result of his lifelong habits of work. He had chosen his field for himself, tilled it in his own way and reaped its harvest with the labor of his own hands.

He had much pleasant correspondence with prominent European and American scholars. He was always ready to talk freely to his visitors and, so far as he took the time to read recent works, cordially praised many of them. He closed his address as President of the American Historical Association in December, 1903, with the following words of appreciative recognition of the work of younger men: "As one of the last survivors of a past generation, whose career is rapidly nearing its end, in bidding you farewell I may perhaps be permitted to express the gratification with which, during nearly half a century, I have watched the development of historical work among us in the adoption of scientific methods. Year after year I have marked with growing pleasure the evidence of thorough and earnest research on the part of a constantly increasing circle of well-trained scholars, who have no cause to shun comparison with those of the older hemisphere. In such hands the future of the American school of history is safe, and we can look forward with assurance to the honored position which it will assume in the literature of the world."

The deepest impression made by a survey of the career of Mr. Lea as an historian is an overwhelming sense of the impoverishment of the world of scholarship now that he has gone from it. Doubtless the careful, systematic, scientific study of the past will go on; science is continuous and progressive, history will more and more be studied and written as he has studied and written it. Doubtless others will rise up in his place to continue his work. Confidence in the future of historical investigation could not be expressed more strongly than he himself has expressed it in the words I have just quoted. And yet the broad outlook, the massive requirements, the trained capacity, the patient industry, the indomitable perseverance, the sustained interest, the alert and ardent mind of this great scholar,—how can we

spare them from historical research and writing? When shall we again have the clear-eyed layman investigating subjects left too generally by custom to the churchman? Where can we seek for the intellectual courage that will extend its view over so many centuries, and the industry that will prepare itself so thoroughly for the combat with their difficulties? What capacities scattered among many possessors will make up for the combination of powers in one personality? What later travelers along the way of historical study will see so widely, observe so keenly and record so well as this first and greatest of American scientific historians?

THE PRESIDENT:

The next speaker will be our fellow member, the Right Hon. James Bryce, the British Ambassador—a conspicuous representative of the culture of the old world as Mr. Lea was of the culture of the new.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE JAMES BRYCE:

I am asked to speak to you about one of the greatest historians of our time; to do so is for me not only an honor, but also a duty, because I was privileged during many years to enjoy his friendship, first given to me as a friend and pupil of Mr. Goldwin Smith, and because I am probably the only member of the British Academy, a body of which he had been elected some time ago a foreign member, who is now resident in this country.

Of his public life as a citizen and of his character in its various private relations, others here can speak with knowledge fuller than mine; yet I must not forget to dwell upon and gratefully acknowledge the uniform kindness which he showed to us younger men when we approached him, and which witnessed to the genial warmth of his heart. What I have now to say will refer to him as a historical scholar and author.

Anyone asked to say what are the qualities needed for the writing of history might enumerate them as follows: diligence, patience, accuracy, the power of critical discrimination, impartiality, penetration, judgment. All these are qualities which belong to the substance of historical writing. As regards its form, one would particularly specify the power of clear statement and the gift of putting

color and life into narration, together with those other attributes which make up what we call "brilliancy of style."

Let us consider Mr. Lea's intellect and the work which it produced with reference to the various attributes I have enumerated, and let us begin with the form of his work and of those things which belong to style and manner.

That which is called literary excellence, *i. e.*, the charms and allurements of style, was never very much in Mr. Lea's mind and was altogether subordinated to a consideration of the matter to be dealt with. Whether it was that he did not think that his talents lay in the purely literary direction or that he did not much care for the graces of composition, reckoning merits of form as trifling compared to merits of substance, he paid comparatively little regard to the adornment of that which he had to say. In this respect he would have satisfied—as indeed he anticipated—the canons of what is now called the scientific treatment of history. But his writing had that which is the greatest merit of style, perfect clearness, both in the statement of facts and in the exposition of his views of the facts. It was always plain, direct, intelligible, and with that he was content. The facts were so interesting to him, and he felt that an exact statement of them ought to be so interesting to all scholars, that he never spent any time on decking them out with any rhetorical embellishments. If his manner may be called level and business-like, it is never dull, because the essential facts are carefully selected, words are not wasted, the matter is so stated as to go straight home to the reader's mind.

Now let us return to those attributes of the historian which relate to the substance of his work.

His industry was above all praise. For fifty years he labored incessantly on his researches, giving to them in earlier days all the time that he could spare from his business and his public duties as a good citizen, and in later days devoting to them practically all his working time. When his health became comparatively weak, he so arranged his life as to reserve all his forces for study and composition. Just so much open air exercise was taken as the interests of health required, and every moment that could be given to the library was given.

Nothing could exceed the care and patience with which he investigated the sources from which he drew his materials. He verified every reference, he neglected no out-of-the-way authority from which information could be obtained. Few recent writers have had their statements so seldom questioned, and rarely indeed was he proved to be in error. He rightly held accuracy to be the first of all the historian's aims and the highest test of the historian's excellence. The splendid library which he accumulated by the labor of many years, fortunately enabled him to have on his own shelves an unusually large number of the books that he required, while his means were sufficiently large to bear the cost of procuring copies of manuscripts preserved in European collections. Neither trouble nor expense was spared in procuring these essential materials. It need hardly be said that whoever travels through unexplored territory, relying upon original sources, many of which have never been properly scrutinized, needs a high measure of critical insight. Whether nature gave Mr. Lea that capacity, or whether he acquired it by long experience, it certainly had reached in him an unusually high development, and this is one of the features of his books which gives them their permanent worth. In accompanying him one feels one's self always on firm ground.

Some of the subjects which he treated at great length, such as his monumental histories of the Inquisition in Southern France and in Spain and his history of clerical celibacy, deal with subjects in which freedom from any bias or prepossession, whether religious or political, is specially needful, and indeed one may say essential in order to secure the confidence of all readers, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant. Mr. Lea was a Protestant by birth and conviction, but he was, as a scholar ought to be, perfectly fair in his treatment of ecclesiastical and religious questions. One may indeed say that scholarship fails to bear one of its best fruits if it fails to make a man impartial in handling ecclesiastical history. His books were never written with any purpose or bias save that of eliciting the facts. To write in such a spirit was far rarer in the days when Mr. Lea began his work than it is in our time. Religious prejudices were so strong and so general among both Protestants and Roman Catholics that it was quite unusual to find a writer in whom you

could not discover immediately that he wrote with either a Protestant or a Roman Catholic color. But it may be said of Mr. Lea that he not only never suppressed evidence, but also that he always treated evidence in a purely judicial spirit, endeavoring to give its due weight to every item, whether or not it fell in with any theory that he might have formed or any notions he had entertained. In one of the last conversations I was privileged to have with him he told me that he had been surprised when he investigated the subject to find that the Inquisition, terrible as it was, put to death by no means so many persons as was commonly believed.

When after weighing the evidence and reviewing the facts established, he had to deliver his own judgment upon them, it was sure to be both a cautious and a weighty judgment. To large generalizations he was not very prone, feeling the dangers that lurked in them, and feeling also that if the facts are fully and carefully stated, scholars at least may generally be left to draw their proper conclusions from them. Great historians may be recognized hardly more by the fine quality than by the small quantity of the general theories they propound. It is the untrained men who are alike facile and feeble in their speculations.

One feature of Mr. Lea's judgment deserves to be noted because it is one which, although apparently discarded by some among the most recent school of scientific historians, was placed in the forefront of an historian's merits by a great man whom it is a pleasure to name as a warm admirer of Mr. Lea's work, I mean the late Lord Acton. Mr. Lea was sparing in condemnation, for he had a charitable mind, and he was not copious in moralizing reflections, but he carried a clear and sound moral sense into all his judgments. Cruelty and perfidy and rapacity were hateful to him wherever they were found. Their foulness was not to be palliated by dwelling on the distinction between the standards of one age and another. There are, no doubt, many offences to which we ought to give a greater indulgence when we meet them in past times than we should give them now, but even in the rudest communities these three sins always were sins as they always will be sins, and, as Lord Acton used to say, they ought not to be excused by any differences of time or country.

I may sum up the impression which Mr. Lea's intellectual character and attitude leave upon his readers and left most of all upon those who knew him personally, by saying that he loved truth with a whole-hearted devotion. The love of truth is the compass by which an historian must steer. It is the highest quality in the investigator, whether his subject be human things or external nature. It was his love of truth that made him so diligent and exact and scrupulous in the study of his authorities and in the statement of his results. It is this quality above all that distinguishes men like Hallam and Stubbs, Maitland and Gardiner, and in this country men like Parkman and your latest historian of the United States, Mr. James Ford Rhodes, from the mere littérateur, however brilliant a stylist he may be, who occupies himself with history because it is a subject which lends itself to literary effect. And I may perhaps add that we in England feel doubly grateful to the United States when she gives us an historian who makes to European history contributions of permanent value. In observing the widespread and eager activity with which, in this country, your younger students are devoting themselves to the history of the thirteen colonies and of the United States in all its ramifications, I have sometimes been inclined to wish that more of them occupied themselves with the history of Europe, which, after all, is a part of your own history, because you are yourselves a European people, although settled in another hemisphere. Mr. Lea is a bright example of the services which an American historian, standing outside the strifes and prejudices that still affect the minds of many European writers, can render to branches of history which eminently require calm and dispassionate investigation.

The vision rises before me of our venerable friend as I used to see him sitting in his library, surrounded by books that rose from the floor to the ceiling—rows of precious volumes which he had gathered with such painstaking diligence—happy among them, gentle and serene in aspect, and pursuing his labors in an old age which had left him in full possession of his admirable powers, wise and just, zealous and untiring as ever in the pursuit of truth. He thought nothing of fame. He did not seek for recognition either at home or abroad, and the circle from which he received recognition

was the comparatively narrow one of scholars who were able to appreciate what he had done for them. But he has set before us a splendid example of single-minded devotion to the enlargement of knowledge, and has given us a great mass of first rate original work, work which has stood and will stand the test of criticism. This work of his, covering some of the most obscure and difficult branches of research and throwing new light into many a dark corner of the past, will perpetuate his name and win for it a gratitude of many generations of historical scholars.

THE PRESIDENT:

It is a great pleasure not to introduce, but to present to you Dr. Horace Howard Furness, the speaker on behalf of the Library Company of Philadelphia, one of the foremost of Shakespearean scholars, the genial friend not only of Mr. Lea, but of our entire community.

DR. HORACE HOWARD FURNESS:

Mr. President, Fellow Members of the Philosophical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen: Lincoln in his immortal Gettysburg address taught us, I think, the spirit in which to observe commemorative services. The *deeds* that men have done, the *tasks* they have achieved—these endure, and our commemorations are for our own benefit, not for the honor of those whose hands have ceased from their labor. By rehearsing their victories, we are, ourselves, urged forward, and in following their example our truest commemoration is found.

And who would not gladly be a humble follower of such a leader as he whom we have met this evening to commemorate? From mouths of wiser censure than mine you have listened to a review of his manifold talents and activities. A man so various that he seemed to be not one but all good men's epitome. Of Sir Walter Scott, who for twenty-five years performed the arduous and varied duties of Sheriff and Clerk of the Session, it has been said that an historian of Edinburgh could hardly escape the conviction that during those years there must have been in that city and at the same time, two utterly dissimilar men, both bearing the same name, the one a poet and literary man of commanding genius and the

other a great citizen, ever in public and active civic life. Would not an historian of Philadelphia come to the same conclusion and express his conviction that there were here in Philadelphia during the last half century two men both bearing the identical name, Henry Charles Lea? One striving and prominent in the heady fight of politics and reform; and the other a modest, sequestered scholar, leading a cloistered life of historical research.

'Far, far indeed behind his worth come all the praises we can now bestow.'

I cannot analyze his character. His loss to me is too recent and we are all too close to him. My few words cannot but be stammering; if haply they only be coherent.

Whatever may be the qualities demanded in a scholar, and especially in an historian, accuracy in statement stands preëminent. It is the foundation of his work; on it rests the whole superstructure—a taint of suspicion of a scholar's truth is the fly which ruins the apothecary's ointment.

In this accuracy Mr. Lea ranks among the highest. The sources whence he drew his statements cannot be impugned. They are the very words of the speakers, the very acts of the governments, the very decrees of the church. And of them he urges upon the reader no interpretation drawn from imagination, or tinged by prejudice. He gives the documents themselves, from which the interpretation to be drawn is the bare, unqualified meaning of the very words themselves.

And herein he reveals to us the lofty attribute of pure intelligence; pure intelligence is absolutely cold and impartial. This impersonality elevates his writings to the ruthless dignity of a scroll of fate. Here are your facts. Lament, deplore, extenuate as you will, but deny you cannot.

Obedient to this high attitude, an historian need not point the moral. Whoso cannot of himself *find* the moral, for him will Clio forever inscribe her scrolls in vain. We need no elimination of the personal question when we read Lea's general conclusions drawn from a survey of the whole field; and, in less prejudiced and less impartial hands, we all know how vulnerable such general surveys are apt to be.

For an historian to attain, however, an eminence from which he can sweep the horizon, he must be, with a cool head and unclouded brain, omnipresent in the times whereof he writes. There must be not only no point of the horizon, political, ethical, and ecclesiastical, which he has not scanned; but also the manners, the customs, the complex trending of thought, the very form and pressure of the age and body of the time, must be as familiar to him as are those of his own. To accomplish this as thoroughly as Lea accomplished it, demands exhaustive research, wide reading, digesting, collating, analysis, and all held in memory to the point of saturation. In the presence of such an achievement, as we find again and again in Lea's works, we can only stand in mute respect and admiration, tempered with what is akin to awe. To achieve this, difficult as it is, is a duty imposed on every historian; and, recognizing this duty as "the stern daughter of the voice of God," Lea obeyed it.

John Fiske is said to have observed that "the life of the wisest man is chiefly made up of lost opportunities, defeated hopes, and half finished products."

Is this true of our friend? Ah no! In moments of quiet reflection, when to the sessions of sweet, silent thought he summoned up remembrance of things past, he could not but have been conscious that instead of losing opportunities, he had created them; instead of hopes defeated, he could count hopes triumphant; instead of products half finished, he had rounded full and complete the work of a lifetime wherein no hour was wasted. At such seasons, with his keen insight into human nature, he could not but have been conscious that he had bequeathed to the world a legacy, in comparison wherewith wealth turns to apples of Sodom and the clusters of Gomorrah. Here is a legacy free to all and the more it is used the wider grows its beneficence and value. It thrives by wasting.

Surely, surely, he could have harbored never a doubt as to its permanence. In dreaming over its future, well might he have murmured to himself with haughty truth:

"Et tunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago."

"A man's light," says Jeremy Taylor, "burns awhile and then turns blue and faint, and he goes to converse with spirits; then he

hands his taper to another." But where shall we find him who is worthy to accept Lea's taper? Of him who shall venture to hold it, it will crave wary walking to keep its flame as pure and bright as when it illumined the pages beneath Lea's own hand;—those pages which will endure, which cannot but endure. Is it exaggeration to paraphrase Dr. Johnson and assert that, "time which is continually washing away the dissoluble fabric of other writers will pass without injury the adamant" of the "History of the Inquisition"?

And now, as a last word, when the image of the friend, admired and respected by us all, and so dear to some of us, rises before me, I would fain in this present circle, close-knit as we are by a common emotion, breathe one low-toned word of sympathy with those from whom as husband and father, it was to him so bitter a pang to part.

Before that sad group we can only stand at a distance with heads bowed and in silence.

"Fear no more the heat of the sun
Nor the furious winter's rages:
Thou thy worldly task hast done
Home art gone and ta'en thy wages."

"The ground that gave him first has him again.
His pleasures here are past, so is his pain."

THE PRESIDENT:

The speaker on behalf of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was to have been Mr. Joseph G. Rosengarten, of Philadelphia, but serious illness in his family prevents him from being here. He has therefore requested Professor Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania, to read his remarks.

ADDRESS OF MR. JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN:

The world-wide reputation of Mr. Lea as a historian forms the fitting complement to the affectionate esteem with which his memory is rightly cherished by his fellow citizens of Philadelphia. As a reformer he initiated basic changes in our municipal methods. His

services to the United States Government began early in the troubled days of the Civil War, when with a few friends he joined the Union League, and with his pen aroused Union sentiment to thoughtful action in that great crisis. When troops were to be raised he was the most active member of a commission of citizens who administered honestly and efficiently the large sums expended in bounties and in organizing the volunteers. At the end of long years of sharp and often bitter contests with the Federal authorities, Mr. Lea earned the hearty praise of General James B. Fry, the provost-marshall-general, for his honest and capable management of local recruiting in the interest of the United States, the state and the city. His pamphlets and verses formed frequent contributions to the cause, and the Union League may well be proud of the effective help given in this way at a trying time.

Equally characteristic of the man was his action in resigning from the League some years later on account of its refusal to throw its influence on behalf of municipal reform when Mr. Lea and his associates were waging their war against corruption in local politics and administration. He led the attack on the Public Buildings Commission, and originated the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association to reform the government of the city and secure a better class of representatives in the legislature. It carried on the contest largely with the help of Mr. Lea's vigorous pen. His newspaper articles and pamphlets brought home to the people the need of sweeping changes. Much of what he thus advocated was secured in the new Constitution, and the convention that drafted that instrument drew largely from Mr. Lea's powerful arguments. It was chiefly owing to his well-directed attacks that the Gas Trust fell at last, thus relieving the city of a heavy burden of corruption. Again, as a member of the Committee of One Hundred, Mr. Lea gave direction to its efforts to secure good city government. What he did in municipal affairs he sought to do in state and national matters. He was a strong and active advocate of civil service reform and urged the introduction of the merit system of admission to civil service appointments by open examination.

One of his old and earnest associates says that "Mr. Lea was the pioneer in the cause of honest government, and to him above

any other man is due the credit of first organizing the reform sentiment in Philadelphia into a body capable of real work."

Later, when he was more deeply engrossed in his splendid literary work, although not in good health, he helped in spirit and in the most substantial way the cause of good government. His deep interest in his native city was maintained till the end of his life. Keenly alive to its honor, he set an example of civic duty that is unfortunately not common in men of his type of mind. He realized better than most of us that good government can only be achieved by the harmonious and hearty coöperation of all classes of the community in civic affairs.

The same industry that had made him as a mere boy a contributor of scientific articles to leading journals, and enabled him to learn from his father's life-long devotion to scientific research, in maturer years made him a welcome contributor to the leading newspapers and periodicals on topics that appealed to the public, for he was a recognized authority on all public questions that he discussed.

As late as 1897 he drafted for his associates in Philadelphia an admirable appeal to the Senate of the United States for the prompt ratification of the treaty with Great Britain, providing for the arbitration of international questions when not settled by the ordinary process of diplomacy. In it he showed his mastery of large and important issues, and put in clear, crisp, significant sentences the reasons that justified a new departure in the interests of peace.

A complete bibliography of all his contributions on public topics would be a very long one, and would bring home to his fellow-citizens a realizing sense of how useful Mr. Lea was to them, to the community in which he lived, to the state, and to the nation, for all of which he labored with such unselfish zeal.

An interest in public affairs and an ability to discuss them on the highest plane, may have been inherited from his grandfather, Mathew Carey, a man of mark in the early days of the Republic. But the grandson was not only a successful publisher and a man active in affairs; he was also a diligent student, and even during the trying days of the Civil War and in the turmoil of discussion of municipal questions, in the quiet of his own study he was accumu-

lating the material for that succession of his historical works which have made him famous as a historian, foremost in the world in the subjects that he made his own.

Preoccupied as he was, he gave freely of his time and money to charities, public work and educational schemes. For years a director of the Philadelphia Library, he gave it a large reading-room that doubled its usefulness. A trustee of the University, he gave it the laboratory of hygiene, and by his will made it the ultimate owner of his splendid library, a collection of original historical works and material for historical research that will attract earnest students for all time. In his own busy life he always welcomed students to his library, and its treasures were put freely at the disposal of all who shared his own love of truth and the lessons to be learned by a diligent and intelligent use of the real sources of history, the original works and manuscript records gathered by him from foreign archives and repositories.

Without the gift of oratory, or even a fondness or willingness for public speaking, he used his pen effectively during an exceptionally long and active life in promoting a sound system of good government, and threw a new light on complicated historical questions, all with a lofty spirit, a love of truth, and a zeal to help the world on in its upward progress. Impartial, unpartisan, inspired always and only by an unselfish aim, and without any personal ambition or desire for fame, Mr. Lea was a citizen of whom his native city and country may well be proud.

Honors came to him in the recognition from scholars and learned institutions, and from the leaders of public thought at home and abroad, but unaffected by them except as they furnished him an assurance of the service that his arduous labors had rendered, he retained the same simple truth-loving and truth-seeking spirit from boyhood to the end of his useful and honored life. It is characteristic of the man that oblivious to the steady growth of his fame as a scholar, which was even more rapid abroad than at home, his work continued steadfast and untiring.

His strength and his life ended before he could complete the "History of Witchcraft" in hand at the time of his death. Much original material was collected from various sources, and more

came after that active brain was stilled, and that busy pen fallen from his hand. A great amount of notes was made by him with the careful thoroughness so characteristic of his studious preparation before he began work on his final text, which it was his rule to subject to frequent revision before he would publish the result.

The correspondence of Mr. Lea with public men and scholars at home and abroad ought to throw much light on his intellectual growth and development, and on the influence that he exercised during his long and busy life. His singular modesty, his contentment in his own library and in his literary work, his absolute indifference to public honors or recognition, made all the greater his sacrifice of so much strength and time and labor to public service, to duty as a citizen. All the more is it important that there should be a full and complete memorial to him, showing how he was trained in early youth, developed into a busy man of affairs, active in a great national crisis, earnest in advocating much needed reforms, and crowned by the highest authority as a historical author of the foremost rank.

Through all his lifetime of activity there ran a stream of constant and wise philanthropy, a steady giving to all good causes, but only after careful inquiry and investigation, and always without ostentation or publicity. Of his personal traits one cannot but recall his kindly gentle nature, his interest and sympathy in all who worked in the same fields—history, public affairs, scientific research, philanthropic and educational projects. None of those who were thus associated with him would ever have suspected from his modest bearing that Mr. Lea was a great scholar and historian, whose works received the highest encomiums of great scholars and historians at home and abroad. They in turn never heard from him of the manifold public services he had rendered during his busy life. Let us then pay tribute to his many remarkable achievements in all his pursuits.

There are examples of great historians whose memories have been honored by making their libraries accessible to students. Our American universities have many such libraries brought here and made the shrines for the studious worship of successive generations of scholars. Mr. Carnegie made a gift of the library of Lord Acton

a special tribute to Lord Morley. Mr. Lea himself provided that his library should in due course come to the University of Pennsylvania. In making this provision Mr. Lea was manifestly actuated by the hope that his collection might be of service to future generations of scholars. Such a collection should indeed become the natural centre of the historical work done at the University, whither students might come and find every facility for continuing those researches that made Mr. Lea an example and an encouragement for all who follow his love for the truth. The noblest memorial to a great scholar is to provide for a continuance of his work.

I trust, therefore, that I may be permitted to hope that the priceless collection, so carefully gathered by Mr. Lea during his long life, should be properly housed so as to make it most fully serviceable, and that amid worthy surroundings its very presence may serve as an example to which the historians of the generations to come might turn for fresh inspiration.

Henry C. Lea needs no memorial. His achievements constitute his monument, but it is important for our sake and for the sake of the generations to come that his memory be kept alive and that the recollection of his active and useful life and of his many-sided labors be kept before us in a manner worthy of the man, the citizen, the historian in whose honor we have gathered tonight.

THE PRESIDENT:

The portrait of Mr. Henry C. Lea, an admirable copy by Mr. H. H. Breckenridge of Vonnoh's original painting, will be presented to the Society by the representative of the University of Pennsylvania, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences of Boston, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, the third of our distinguished Philadelphia triumvirate, whose own portraits in print rival in felicity those of the artist on canvas.

DR. S. WEIR MITCHELL:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Philosophical Society: I have had the honor of being selected by the family and friends of Mr. Henry Charles Lea to present to the Philosophical Society the portrait of our greatest historian. The portrait I thus place in the custody of the society is a copy of the well-known portrait by Vonnoh, painted fifteen years ago, and is regarded by those who

knew Mr. Lea best as an excellent picture of the man as he was. But that responsive face could never be so put on canvas as to recall for me the change from the grave scholarly look of attention to the smile which welcomed a friend to the privilege of a social hour; alas!—here the artist fails us—

“For Painting mute and motionless
Steals but a glance of time.”

It is not a part of my function to speak at length of the work of my friend, or of his personal character and the qualities which made him both loved and respected. It is probable, however, that no one of those who speak of him this evening has done full justice to a characteristic which he possessed in a degree I have met with in no other man of eminence. The brief contribution I shall here make is a sufficient record of the extraordinary humility of Mr. Lea concerning works which scholars regard as among the classics of his time. I hesitated to speak of it because it involved mention of myself and of a service I was so happy as to render my friend, and through him to the art of the historian.

About the year 1887, when Mr. Lea was half-way through the first volume of his work on the Inquisition, he broke down in health and consulted me. I was able to give him a schedule of life, to which he adhered with extraordinary fidelity, and with the result at last of being able to resume the task which he had for a time given up. When the first volume of this great work was completed, he sent it to me with a letter. In it he said that he had held back the printing of the introductory pages of his book for a week, because it was his desire to dedicate to me a work which could not have been carried thus far without the health which my counsels had restored to him. He went on to say that he had felt, however, so much doubt as to the reception of this book by scholars, that he finally resolved not to connect my name with what might possibly be considered a failure.

The letter was perhaps a greater compliment than even the dedication would have been. I think of it with grateful remembrance, and venture to offer it as my contribution to what has been said about one of the most remarkable men with whom I have had the good fortune to be associated in a long life.

ISAAC LEA.

(Read January 20, 1911.)

THE PRESIDENT, DR. KEEN:

The portrait of Mr. Isaac Lea, a striking copy of Mr. Uhle's by Mr. Thomas P. Anshutz, of the Academy of the Fine Arts, will be presented by Dr. Samuel G. Dixon, the worthy successor of Mr. Isaac Lea as President of The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

DR. SAMUEL G. DIXON:

Mr. President, Members of the American Philosophical Society, Honored Representatives of our Mother Country, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is my privilege tonight to present to you, on behalf of the family of the late Henry C. Lea, a portrait of Isaac Lea, LL.D., by Uhle, that at last it may rightfully take its place in the series of portraits of distinguished members, which adorn the hall of the Society.

Isaac Lea's work was ended long ago; he rests beneath "the low green tent." It may be fitting on this occasion to recall, if only briefly, his work and services to science.

The honor of membership in this Society has not always an equal significance. In most cases it is bestowed in recognition of large performance in the domain of science or of affairs; but rarely has a man's work been discounted, and a member admitted for what he was expected to perform.

Eighty-two years ago this Society elected to its membership a young man whose actual achievement was then small; but he was destined to become, in his own special line of research, the most eminent of his generation.

This young man was Isaac Lea. His life work was the study of fresh-water mollusks. Born in 1792, of parents belonging to the Society of Friends, whose English ancestors had followed Penn to America, young Lea lost his birthright by serving in a volunteer

rifle company towards the end of the War of 1812. About this time he became interested in geology, under the inspiring influence of Professor Vanuxem, whose pioneer work on the geology of New York was soon to begin. Geological horizons are recognized by their fossil shells, and Lea was thus led to study living mollusks, the better to understand those in the rocks.

The receipt of some fresh-water mussels, sent by Major Long, of the U. S. Engineer Corps, then engaged in deepening the Ohio River, was the occasion of Lea's first paper, which was published in the *Transactions* of this Society for 1827.

Once attracted to this subject, Lea found an inexhaustible field for work. The great river systems of a continent marvelously prolific in bivalve mollusks supplied material. Naturalists in all parts of the country sent the species of their localities. His enthusiasm infected others, and from North and South Amercia, India and Australia, material to be worked up poured in. Lea's work on these great collections of fresh-water mollusks form a series of thirteen stately and richly illustrated quarto volumes, part published by this Society, part by the Academy of Natural Sciences. His last paper appeared in 1876.

Every man who sets himself the task of cultivating one plot in the field of intellectual endeavor must needs resist the voices calling him to other tasks, lest in scattering his force, he fail of high achievement. Lea published but little outside of his special work. Several papers dealing with foreign materials included in gems and other crystals, and one notable paper, on the reptilian tracts of the red sandstones of Pennsylvania, were his main digressions.

In whatever direction, however, his researches led him he was sure to pursue them to a successful end. The value placed upon them by his fellow scientists is sufficiently indicated by the positions of honor to which they called him.

I venture upon any estimate of the value of Lea's work with hesitation, since my own studies have been in a field widely diverse. I can but give the verdict of those competent to judge, whom I have consulted. Lea's work was mainly descriptive. It was the pioneer work in his branch of zoölogy, breaking path for those who came after. The march of modern zoölogy could not proceed without

such work as his. And it is the honor of this man that his work was well done. While investigations growing out of Lea's work may prove to have what we term "practical" applications, yet in laying the foundation of our knowledge of freshwater bivalves, Lea's aim and achievement were purely intellectual. Of him may be truthfully quoted those noble words of Tyndall: "The true son of science will pursue his inquiries irrespective of practical considerations. He will ever regard the acquisition and expansion of natural knowledge—the unravelling of the complex web of nature by the disciplined intellect of man, as his noblest end—and not as a means to any other end."

THE PRESIDENT:

Dr. Dixon, Dr. Mitchell, Mrs. Henry C. Lea, and other members of Mr. Lea's family, in the name and on behalf of the American Philosophical Society, it gives me great pleasure to accept with sincere thanks these gifts of affection and of a just civic and family pride. They will find in the notable collection already in the ancient hall of the American Philosophical Society the portraits of worthy spirits and warm friends from those of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson and Rittenhouse down to those of Cope, Leidy and Newcomb. There they will ever live, an inspiration to young men of what may be achieved by a long life of faithful unremitting labor, and a reminder to old men of what has been thus splendidly achieved by their predecessors.

PRESENTATION OF PORTRAIT
OF
HENRY CHARLES LEA¹

LATE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE Stated Meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania of March 13, 1911, was largely attended and the transactions were of more than usual interest. A life-size portrait of the late Henry Charles Lea, Vice-President of the Society, painted by Hugh H. Breckenridge, from the original by Robert Vonnoh, was placed at the right of the President's chair. After an address by Edward Raymond Turner, Ph.D., Associate in History at Bryn Mawr College, on "Slavery in Colonial Pennsylvania," the President of the Society, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, LL.D., read the following letter:

2004 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, MARCH 3, 1911.
HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, PRESIDENT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

MY DEAR SIR:

On behalf of the family of the late Henry Charles Lea, Vice-President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania from 1890 till 1909, I have the honor to present a copy by Hugh H. Breckenridge of the portrait of Mr. Lea painted by Robert Vonnoh in 1896. It gives us great pleasure thus to comply with the suggestion of Colonel William Brooke Rawle, a Vice-President of your Society.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR H. LEA.

REMARKS OF WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE, ESQUIRE

Mr. President: I rise to offer a Resolution of Thanks.

During the eighty-six years and more of our existence as a Society we have had many distinguished men to fill its offices of President and Vice-President. Some of them have occupied

¹ Abstract of the Meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 13, 1911. Reprinted from The Pennsylvania Magazine, April, 1911.

the most exalted executive, judicial, and legal positions in this Commonwealth; some have been leaders of our Bar; some have held the highest diplomatic positions in foreign countries; some were physicians of great repute; some among them have been men of affairs, men of letters, men of great influence and standing in the community. Among them have been historians and biographers of great and world-wide reputation. The work of these last-mentioned writers, however, for the most part has, naturally, been restricted to the confines of the endeavors of our Society. Their fields of investigation have been chiefly comprised within those geographical limits for work in which our Society was specially formed, that is to say, Pennsylvania, the Middle Colonies, and the war of the American Revolution. Though splendid work was done by them in their respective fields, none achieved higher honor or distinction than our late lamented Vice-President, whose likeness is portrayed upon the canvas before you.

Mr. Henry Charles Lea was a many-sided man, and he was eminently successful in everything which he undertook. We, within these walls, however, know him best as the ardent student and delver in the philosophy of history, a worker in the broad fields and deep mines of antiquarian material of an older civilization.

Mr. Lea's chief field of work, that for which he is known and will be known for all time in Christian lands, was in the history of the religious affairs of the Middle Ages. The crowning literary work of his life was his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, in three volumes, which was translated into German, French, and Italian, and later his *History of the Inquisition of Spain*, and *The History of the Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, making five volumes. These, also, are being translated into foreign languages. Others of his works have gone into second and third editions. The fairness of his opinions and conclusions, the total absence of one-sidedness or of personal and sectarian feeling, and the thoroughness of his work are characteristics which have drawn forth the encomiums of the free minded of different religious convictions almost without exception.

Mr. Lea became a member of this Society on February 22, 1869. He was elected a Vice-President on May 5, 1890. Upon reaching

the age of eighty years, when he was endeavoring to rid himself of many of his responsibilities, he requested to be relieved of the office, whereupon he was elected on November 12, 1906, to the position of Honorary Vice-President, and continued to be annually re-elected as such during the remainder of his life.

A few weeks ago, on January 20, 1911, a remarkable meeting was held in the Hall of the College of Physicians in this city, to do honor to the memory of Mr. Lea. It took place under the auspices of five of our greatest learned institutions—The American Philosophical Society, The Library Company of Philadelphia, The University of Pennsylvania, The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, and this, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It was a notable gathering of men and women of high social, professional, and scientific standing; of prominence and distinguished rank in learning and literary endeavor. Such men as the President of The American Philosophical Society, Dr. William W. Keen, the Right Honorable James Bryce, British Ambassador, Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, Dr. Joseph G. Rosengarten, and Professor Edward P. Cheyney, joined in appreciations of Mr. Lea's character and his great work in its various lines. As has been said of the meeting: "The keynote in all the addresses was one of profound admiration for the unusual combination of intellectual and ethical traits which stamped Mr. Lea as one of the truly great men of his generation."

It is not my intention to give an extended account of Mr. Lea's historical work. This has been done by far abler speakers at the Memorial Meeting which I have mentioned, and will be also by the eloquent gentleman who will follow me.

As I have remarked, Mr. Lea was a many-sided man. In his early youth he was interested in scientific investigations, and worked and wrote in that line. Later he became the head of a large publishing business, which had been handed down for several generations, from the earliest days of our national existence. In the prime of his middle life the Northern side in our war of the Rebellion engaged his supreme interest and exertions. He was among the foremost of the patriotic citizens of Philadelphia in the work which resulted in the formation of the Union League,

and he wrote many of the publications issued by it to encourage the patriotic spirit in this city and State which then was the chief object of its existence. He labored earnestly and successfully in the raising and equipment of regiments of troops to be sent to the front; in keeping the ranks full by means of recruiting; in seeing that justice was done in regard to the filling of the quotas of men called for service; and in the payment of the heavy bounties which became necessary therefor. He organized and managed this work so successfully that when, at one time, conscription had to be resorted to, and Philadelphia was called upon to furnish her quota, a surprisingly small number of men—only forty-six it has been stated—had to be secured by such an unpopular method.

During the anxieties of that terrible war the concentration of patriotic minds on its problems allowed abuses to grow in municipalities, and Philadelphia was no exception. After the restoration of peace Mr. Lea threw himself vigorously into the work of reform, and contributed of his intellectual powers, his purse, and his time, with zeal and energy; indeed, he was the chief of the leaders in that crusade against corruption, extravagance, and political criminality. I saw him frequently in those days, for I was in the law offices of the late William Henry Rawle, who was the counsel for the Municipal Reform Association, which led and fought the fight with considerable, though not very lasting, success. Mr. Lea was a frequent, and at times a daily visitor to our offices for consultation, advice, and assistance, and I can testify to the good and hard work he then did himself and in making others do likewise.

Philadelphia has had for many years the reputation outside of being among men the most hospitable place in this country. This came about from the fact that ever since the winter of 1799–1800 there has been among us a social coterie of a high intellectual stamp, beginning with the informal weekly gatherings of congenial members of The American Philosophical Society at the residence of Dr. Caspar Wistar, the President of that time-honored institution. After Dr. Wistar's death these gatherings, under the name of the Wistar Party, continued until the early days of the war of the Rebellion, when partisan feeling became so strong, and opinions on the great issues at stake so diverse, as to cause

the breaking of friendships and social and often home ties, the consequence being that the gatherings fell off and then ceased for awhile, their place being taken by other social coteries, none of them of long duration. When the time was opportune a resuscitation of the Wistar Party took place, and Mr. Lea's father, Dr. Isaac Lea, resigned his office of Dean, or President, and Mr. Lea himself was elected to succeed him. For sixty-seven years father and son held the position of Dean, the chiefs around whom and their associates gathered, on Saturday evenings at stated periods during the winter season, much of the intellectual, professional, scientific, and cultured society in our community, as well as the distinguished travellers, men of letters and learning, and other worthy celebrities who visited our city. Mr. Lea's interest and zeal in the Association were great and constant, as in all his pursuits in life.

There were many other fields of Mr. Lea's work, and it is a pleasure to know that a full and adequate Memoir of him is likely to be given to the world in the not distant future.

Mr. Lea was a man of profound learning; a master of several modern languages and a fine classical scholar; a careful and thorough student; an ardent lover of accuracy, truth, and justice; a man possessing enormous capacity for work, and systematic in doing it most thoroughly; an exhaustive investigator of original sources of knowledge from their very foundations; a man of infinite pains in all he undertook, whose style of writing was most concise and apposite, with no unnecessary circumlocution or departure from the point. He was just and fair in weighing his evidence and in arriving at conclusions and deductions, in which he was always without bias of any sort, religious or otherwise.

A marked characteristic of Mr. Lea's thoroughness of character and in his work is shown in the fact that, believing that a book without an index lost full half its value, and with a bad one almost as much, he indexed his own volumes in the most complete and concise manner, not counting the laboriousness, the tediousness, and the drudgery of the undertaking. He held that the author alone could properly index a book.

He was exceedingly liberal in contributing from his extensive means to worthy objects, and his pecuniary assistance in the erec-

tion of this building in which we are gathered was a great help to us in our hard struggle for the accomplishment of that object.

We are fortunate in having upon our walls in this building many valuable portraits of distinguished men. We have a complete collection of the portraits of our Presidents and of some of our Vice-Presidents, and it is a great pleasure that this excellent one of Mr. Lea is added to our collection.

I move you, Mr. President:

That the thanks of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania be most cordially extended to the members of the family of Mr. Henry Charles Lea, our late Vice-President, for their kindness and generosity in presenting to the Society this beautiful and life-like portrait of him, copied by Hugh H. Breckenridge, after Vonnoh's painting, which will recall to our minds, and hand down to those who come after us, the features and resemblance of our distinguished associate and liberal benefactor, who has added so much to the honor and high standing of our Society.

REMARKS OF HON. HAMPTON L. CARSON

Mr. President: I rise to second the resolutions offered by Mr. Brooke Rawle. My recollections of Mr. Lea make it an agreeable duty; my relations to him and to his family make it a personal pleasure. I often observed him in conference or discussion with men of affairs about matters of moment. I often met him on the street and had familiar chats about men and current events. I listened, alas too rarely, to his conversation about books, pictures, and other things which interested him as a scholar and as a collector. He had a penetrating mental eye which saw far into the heart of things, while at the same time he had a breadth of vision which saved him from narrowness or near-sightedness. He was never dogmatic, although he was always persistent in the maintenance of his opinions, and if challenged or annoyed by opposition which seemed unreasonable, he could cite facts which became overwhelming, not simply in numbers, but because of the manner in

which they were marshalled by a master commander of what the world had learned by experience. His mind was a microscope and a telescope combined, if the law of optics will permit of such an illustration. He knew and saw the smallest details, and he could draw their most distant relationships into combinations so as to present a result which was impressive because of the light it shed on the meaning of customs, formulae, and conventions which formed the organic structure of society in past ages.

It is easy enough to say that Mr. Lea was a very learned man, and to point to the titles of his books and to the character of the authorities cited in the foot-notes, to prove that his researches were recondite, but after all that is very general, very vague, and quite unsatisfactory, because it conveys no definite idea of the quality or the value of his learning. We must go far deeper than that. We must examine his text, and then examine his authorities, and then go back to the text to ascertain what use he made of his raw material, how he assimilated and arranged it, and how he evolved a statement of the principle underlying his deductions. In that way we can secure an appreciative estimate of the illuminating character of his scholarship. An analysis of his mental processes will, I think, give these results. First, he collected his facts, his phenomena, his symptoms, and in doing that he discarded all theories and rejected all secondary sources of information. He was unwilling to trust to translations, but studied documents in their native tongues, whether Welsh, Anglo-Saxon, Ancient Irish, or Icelandic, whether Frankish, Gothic, Spanish, or Italian. Next, he made exact and careful notes of his observations, and in these there was not the slightest trace of a dogma or a theory. Then, having exhausted the entire field of original research, and searched every crack and cranny and crevice of hidden or forgotten lore, no matter what their latitude or longitude in history, he brought his notes together. Having prepared himself by laborious analysis for the far greater work of synthesis, in mechanical phrase, he assembled his parts and fitted them into each other, marking their similarities and observing their differences. Thus he prepared his mind for the consideration of their general significance, their striking adaptability. Then, with a

divination peculiarly his own, which gave him the clue to the arrangement of multiform and widely scattered parts, he pieced out the puzzle in a compact and shapely structure, which as it grew under his hands gave out flashes of meaning to his cool and cautious brain until, finally, the arrangement being complete, he was ready to expound the meaning of his work in a striking, neat, and precise statement of a philosophic principle, so simple and yet at the same time so convincing as to carry to the mind of the reader of his books the assurance that the author had found the key that unlocked the mystery and thrown open to public entrance all the chambers of the Enchanted Castle of Knowledge.

To change the simile, it occurs to me that Dr. Lea did in the field of history, both legal and sacerdotal, what the bacteriologist does at the present time in the science of biology or of medicine. He studied germs, isolated them, ascertained their exact character, observed their effect upon the body politic, and then announced the law of their operation. He used the microscope when his mind was engaged in analysis. He made blood tests when he generalized, and he operated on the lower animals in experimentation, if I may so describe previous conditions of our ancestors without causing commotion, and then announced the law of social life or the cause of a particular political disease.

We can test his mental process very readily. Take, for instance, the first book that he wrote, *Superstition and Force*. It is that part of his labors which appeals most strongly to me, because it is an attempt, and a most successful one, to explain the origin of certain mysterious passages in the law of procedure and proof, which up to the time that he wrote had been a sealed book even to philosophic jurists. It consists of four essays, "The Wager of Law," "The Wager of Battle," "The Ordeal," and "Torture." If we examine his footnotes, we find that he has not confined himself, as many men would have done, to an Anglo-Saxon examination to explain the law of England, but he has gone to the Sagas of Iceland, to Scandinavia, to Gothic and Early Frankish establishments. He is as familiar with the decrees of Clovis and the capitularies of Childebert and Charlemagne as he is with the later statutes of Henry II and III. Although not a lawyer he has an

accurate understanding of Glanville, Bracton, and Fleta, three authors whose names are frequently on the lips of lawyers who have never opened the lids of the volumes. With an intuitive sense which can be described as a flashlight of the mind, he reveals the contents of the darkest recesses of history, and causes ordinary objects to stand out in such clear and scientific relation to each other that we find the evolution of the system delineated as happily and as easily to be comprehended as the chapter of Blackstone on the Action of Debt.

He applied the same methods of workmanship to his other books. In the preface to his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* he wrote that at the commencement of his historical studies he speedily became convinced that the surest basis of investigation of a given period lay in an examination of its jurisprudence, which presents without disguise its aspirations and the means regarded as best adapted for their realization. Clearly he was right, for we may talk about kings and conquerors, and their names serve but as shibboleths, while much of what they did or said has vanished, but in a statute, a crystallization of custom, a statement of what the sovereign power had once willed to be law, there dwells a permanent preservation of a vanished state of society. Just as fossil bones found in the drifts of hills will enable the geologists to set the date of an era, so will a law enable the historian to depict the character of those who peopled the world at that particular time. Mr. Lea wrote and toiled in the spirit of that noble sentence of Lord Bacon in his essay on "The Advancement of Learning": "Antiquities or remnants of history are '*tanquam tabula naufragii*' (like the log of a shipwrecked vessel), when industrious persons"—mark these adjectives of Lord Bacon, and see how fitly they describe the methods of Mr. Lea's work—"when industrious persons, by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time." His work will always be regarded as original. I do not mean original in the sense that he created or invented, but original in the sense that hereafter there will be no necessity for any in-

vestigator, unless charged with some special inquiry, to find occasion to examine the actual manuscripts. He has done that work and done it for all time. We may talk of the monumental work of Gibbon, stretching over a thousand years, or of Robertson, the first of philosophic historians, or of the charms of Motley and of Prescott, but we find in Lea the midribs and the spine which constitute the framework upon which European institutions have developed and shaped themselves; we have them there defined in such a manner as to enable the thoughtful student to realize the force of the law of evolution, the development and the application of which Mr. Lea has made so clear.

I do not know how it is that we fail in our day and generation to see the greatness of men while they are still among us; perhaps it is because we are too close to them. We can place our eyes so close beneath the dome of the Capitol at Washington as to be unable to see anything except a mass of white marble. It is only when in perspective that it can be seen piercing the heavens and crowning the great structure which enshrines the institutions which shelter us and are to shelter our posterity. So it is that as the years recede Mr. Lea's monumental work will be appreciated, rising higher and higher and still higher above the labors of his contemporaries. Here in our midst was a Philadelphian, one of our own Vice-Presidents, who has rendered this Society a service and conferred upon this community an honor which no words of mine can fitly express.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE PORTRAIT BY THE PRESIDENT,
HONORABLE SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER

Mr. Lea's fondness for literature and earnestness in investigation came to him with his pedigree. His father had studied and had published many scientific works. His grandfather, Mathew Carey, published *The Museum* in thirteen volumes, a collection of State papers and contemporary literature, and wrote many essays upon political and historical subjects. It is an interesting fact, worthy to have attention upon an occasion of this kind, that years before

the organization of this Society Mathew Carey urged the formation of a State historical association. Mr. Lea's intellectual activities were very varied, but he was essentially an historian. It cannot be said that his works were popular. It may be that even a large proportion of this select audience have never read them, but popularity and the appreciation or lack of appreciation of such as you and I form a very inadequate test of merit. There are many popular writers who simply take the thoughts and the facts which have been presented time and again before them, and write them over, and their popularity only lasts until some one comes along to repeat the same process. Mr. Lea selected a subject about which before him men were not informed. He studied it with the utmost care, he presented it with all the charm of literary skill, and perhaps no other Philadelphian, perhaps no other American historian, will be so long remembered among scholars and men of learning whose judgment is of value. He was for many years the senior Vice-President of this Society, and he made the most substantial individual contribution toward the erection of this hall. It is, therefore, eminently fitting that upon these walls should hang his portrait. I accept, on behalf of this Society the portrait so generously presented, and I assure the donors that it will be carefully preserved and tenderly cherished.

The Resolution offered by Mr. Brooke Rawle was unanimously adopted.

